

# From Rhetoric to Reality Our Manifesto for an Anti-Racist Wales



*Our Vision is a Wales without racism, prejudice or discrimination. We want a Wales that is representative and celebrates diversity. We want these aspirations to move beyond rhetoric to reality.*

*We call on all political parties and candidates to put race equality and anti-racism at the heart of the 2021 Senedd election.*

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## Context

We are living in unprecedented times, when the cleavages in society have been exposed like never before. The Coronavirus pandemic has shocked the world in its intensity, but while the virus is said not to discriminate, we have seen BAME people die and become seriously ill from the disease at frighteningly higher rates compared to white people. The ensuing lockdown has already and will continue to hit BAME people far worse in terms of its economic impact. The educational gap between children from different home backgrounds is growing and we don't know if it will ever close. Added to this, the murder of George Floyd in America has created a ripple effect of anger, outrage and worldwide solidarity and global protests, also felt here in Wales.

In this context, we need to be bold and we need to be radical. We cannot go back to business as usual, because business as usual was never in some people's best interests. This is a manifesto for change and for racial equality and we urge the political parties in Wales to embrace and adopt it as a tool for success in the electoral battlefield to make Wales a better place.

## About Race Alliance Wales

Race Alliance Wales is a new initiative, established in December 2018, which aims to provide a self-directed space where BAME<sup>1</sup> (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) organisations and individuals can come together to discuss experiences as ethnic minorities in Wales, share information and develop new ideas and solutions to the growing challenge of racism in Wales. Through collaborative work, the group seeks to contribute to a more equal, globally responsible Wales with cohesive communities to make Wales a welcoming place of safety where rights are enjoyed and BAME people can thrive.

The group also aims to act as a supportive space for BAME individuals who may face a range of personal and professional challenges. The group commits to always act in the best interest of ethnic minority people and communities in Wales, to ensure that our resources are used to best effect and to speak with a coherent and strong voice on policies and practices affecting minority ethnic people in Wales. The current membership consists of 35 organisations and 85 individuals and this is growing.

## About this Manifesto

This document has been developed by our Membership through a series of meetings and discussions organised and hosted by Race Alliance Wales utilising our combined existing evidence bases as starting points for our discussions.

The purpose of this manifesto is to persuade current and future decision-makers to include within their own stated priorities and work programmes the key policy recommendations and actions contained herein, which we believe provide a pathway to achieving the key vision of Race Alliance Wales of a Wales without racism, prejudice or discrimination, and a Wales that is representative and celebrates diversity, and a Wales where these aspirations move beyond rhetoric to become reality.

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<sup>1</sup> 'BAME' is the most commonly used term currently used to describe people who are not 'white' and are not 'indigenous' to the UK. We recognise that this is a contested term and that others prefer to use 'BME', 'Black', 'Ethnic Minority/ Minority Ethnic' or 'People of Colour/ POC'. We will discuss and review the preferred terms to be used within the group on an ongoing basis, and also note that members of the group may not all agree on their preferred terminology.

## Overarching Recommendations

- **Recognise Systemic Racism** - There should be greater recognition from Welsh Government that racial, ethnic and religious intolerance is systemic and institutional, has increased post-Brexit, and that it threatens the possibility of future generations living in a diverse, safe and cohesive Wales. This has been starkly exposed by both the Covid19 Pandemic and the outpouring through the recent resurgence of the Black Lives Matters movement.
- **Measure Racial Inequality** - Improve the gathering, monitoring and use of ethnic data in policy and practice; improve the range and scope of the disaggregated ethnicity data available – including intersectional data; Create a Race Disparity Unit in Welsh Government.
- **Plan for Race Equality** - Welsh Government should ensure rapid progression of its commitment to develop a strategic race equality plan, addressing key areas outlined in this document in a systematic, joined up and long-term way, and including clear targets and measurable outcomes addressing Racism, Education, Employment, Representation, Health & Housing

## Racism (Individual and Institutional)

This includes overt racism such as racist incidents and hate crime, but it also includes covert and institutional forms of racism, in which ethnic minority people can be affected both in terms of equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.

### *Individual Racism, Racist Incidents & Hate Crimes*

1. To improve Wales' legal response to hate crime by adopting definitions of each form of hate, including adopting the definition of Islamophobia produced by the APPG for British Muslims.
2. Improve access to justice and safety for minority ethnic individuals and review disproportionate criminal justice outcomes, and effectiveness of justice process, including that of Police, in dealing with racism.
3. Establish a multi-stakeholder response group to deal with allegations of individual or institutional racism.
4. Deliver restorative justice to victims and perpetrators of hate crime by introducing use of anti-racism education programmes as part of community sentencing.

### *Institutional Racism*

5. Recognise the pervasiveness of structural institutional racism in Wales, and of power structures which seek to reproduce themselves, as being contrary to the public-sector duties of equality of opportunity, equality of access and equality of outcome.
6. Follow the example of the new Census 2021 ethnicity categorisations- including new categories of Black Welsh and Welsh Asian in all Welsh public bodies' data capture.

# Racism in Education

## *Racism in Schools*

### *Curriculum*

7. Involve beyond public consultation BAME pupils and parents in the current re-design of the curriculum; this engagement should be across diverse ethnic groups and geographies and should not be tokenistic or exploitative.
8. Challenge and prevent racist attitudes by embedding in the New Curriculum for Wales specific requirements for regular anti-racist education throughout key stages, and monitor this via ESTYN, within which BAME representation and lead is ensured. Follow the advice for learning skills such as maths and reading, “little and often.”
9. In developing the New Curriculum for Wales, ensure that positive representation of ethnic and racial diversity is embedded across the curriculum and that ethnic minority contributions to Welsh society are effectively represented, and that this is regulated by ESTYN.
10. Ensure a more balanced and accurate portrayal of global history, slavery, imperialism and British colonial history and its impact and consequences, as recommended by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD).
11. Widen the current focus on genocidal education, currently covering the Holocaust, to include other genocides including Bosnian genocide as a recent European example.
12. Adopt the ‘Black History is Welsh History’ motto

### *Staff*

13. Address the lack of BAME teachers, particularly at senior level by promoting the recruitment, retention and progression of BAME educators as well as BAME policy makers within the Education Sector.
14. Work with the Education Workforce Council and other providers of teacher training and CPD to ensure that at all stages of their careers, teachers are regularly trained in a) cultural competence, the skills to reflect on their own identity and privilege and how that may affect pupils; b) to recognise and respond effectively to racism and c) to develop authentic diversity in curricula;

### *Monitoring and Incidences*

15. Investigate discrepancies in pupil exclusion rates via ethnicity and investigate discrepancies in outcomes of setting/banding via ethnicity;
16. Make mandatory and improve systems for monitoring and reporting of racist incidents and bullying in schools, as recommended by Children’s Commissioner and EHRC Wales.
17. Support and share best practice in how schools respond to racist incidents and resource their dissemination and replication.
18. Create a stakeholder group or body to deal with racist incidents in schools

### *Funding*

19. Scrutinize the impact of any proposed further changes to current funding which support BAME and Gypsy Roma and Traveller (GRT) pupils. Programmes which are successful and are working well both at engaging BAME and GRT pupils and raising educational attainment should be funded to continue.
20. Ensure rigorous monitoring of the benefits of the support for ethnic minority, GRT and English as an Additional Language (EAL) pupils and monitor how transfer of previous targeted funding to general education funds affects pupil engagement and performance.

### *Higher Education*

21. Ensure that BAME graduates of Higher Education reap equal benefits to their White British peers – both in terms of equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.
22. Look to limit funding to Higher Education institutions that are not actively and purposefully decolonising their curriculums and institutions by tangible actions

### *Workforce Education*

23. Ongoing quality, general and role specific anti-racism training for all public sector staff to be made compulsory and given the same value and importance as Health and Safety, including but not limited to Equality and Diversity legislation, including recourse to bullying and harassment, intercultural sensitivity, anti-oppression, anti-discrimination, power and privileged, fragility, decolonising practices, and unconscious bias.
24. Sharing best practice outside the public sector so that other sectors can learn and adopt processes for improving workforce education.

### *Public Education*

25. Develop an awareness programme or campaign to address public confusion over migrant/refugee/asylum-seeker definitions and rights.
26. Require Arts and Cultural bodies to commission more arts, cultural and heritage exhibitions illuminating the reality of Wales' history of colonialism, slavery and imperialism and the contribution of different layers of immigration, as well as present day achievements in the face of adversity.
27. Develop imaginative public education campaigns which establish Wales as an anti-racist nation, similar to the effort made to be a Feminist Government and Nation of Sanctuary, and Welshness as a proudly ethnically and racially inclusive identity

## **Racism in Employment & Socio-economic Inequality**

Welsh Government has several levers to have a positive impact on employment and, in addition to recommendations above regarding workforce education, we suggest it implements the following to their full capacity, leading by example:

### *Recruitment*

28. Require the public sector in Wales to institute shortlisting practices which are 'name-blind' and eliminate personal details that are known to elicit bias, such as name/postcode/birthdate.
29. Ensure training mentioned above is at minimum made a requirement for all line managers and shortlisting/recruitment panels.
30. Install positive action schemes both to prepare BAME people to be successful at recruitment and to progress into management roles, especially senior management roles; including but not limited to mentoring/shadowing/networking/5050 shortlists

### *Monitoring*

31. Publish data on ethnic minority representation and the ethnicity pay gap annually;
32. Commit to targets to increase BAME representation at all levels of workforce, evidencing the aspiration that public bodies in Wales should have racially representative workforces (see UK Government's BME2020 programme)
33. Set national aspirational targets to close racial disparity gaps relating to employment, economic inactivity and wage level

### *Working Wales Programme*

34. Embed racial equality into "Working Wales," the forthcoming WG employability programme
35. Ensure ethnic monitoring both of participation rates and employment outcomes, including occupational sector and rate of pay;
36. Ensure that providers recruit more BAME staff, particularly in areas where there are high concentrations of BAME people.

37. Ensure training mentioned above is at minimum made a requirement for all providers of this programme, including training on specific issues facing BAME individuals such as underemployment, recognition of overseas qualifications and language barriers.
38. Leverage relationships with employers to implement positive actions to increase ethnic diversity in their workforce and promote progression of BAME employees.

### *Eliciting structural change*

39. Use commissioning and procurement powers to require positive action amongst service deliverers to achieve more diverse and inclusive workplaces
40. Drive behaviour change in the private sector too, for example by requiring anyone tendering for a public sector contract to show what steps they are taking to make their workplaces more inclusive, as commented in the full recommendations of the Baroness McGregor-Smith review into 'Race in the Workplace'
41. Provide training and progression opportunities targeted at minority ethnic employees, such as accessible and appropriate English and Welsh Language classes, qualification translation opportunities, and UK Employee Rights training, as commented in the full recommendations of the Baroness McGregor-Smith review into 'Race in the Workplace'
42. Ensure access to appropriate early learning and childcare for minority ethnic families.
43. Support BAME and migrant workers' rights by providing specific, applicable and representative support and advice for BAME and migrant workers who are particularly vulnerable to exploitative employers

## Representation of BAME people in Public and Political Life

44. Fund more Mentoring, training and shadowing programmes for BAME people into public life and learn from previous best practice.
45. Investigate the current culture of public and political bodies at all levels (Welsh Parliament, local councils, leadership boards, etc) to identify potential barriers to diversity.
46. Openly encourage political parties and political and public bodies to consider legal positive action to achieve equal outcomes which reflect the ethnic make-up of constituencies, for example calling and endorsing for All BAME shortlists in constituencies that have a BAME population.
47. Welsh Government should democratise its own links to BAME individuals and reduce reliance on 'the usual suspect' organisations or self-appointed individuals.

### *Public Life*

48. Review criteria for public appointments and include a requirement for 'lived experience' of the issue to be addressed by the public body.
49. Ensure all public appointments panels/shortlisting staff should have anti-racism training for including but not limited to Equality and Diversity legislation, including recourse to bullying and harassment, intercultural sensitivity, anti-oppression, anti-discrimination, power and privileged, fragility, decolonising practices, and unconscious bias.
50. Collect and publish ethnicity data relating to applications (not only appointments) for public appointments.
51. Expand the remit of the current *Reflecting Wales in Running Wales* strategy to incorporate other public bodies which are not regulated by the UK Commissioners office.

### *Political Life*

52. Implement the recommendations from the 'Diversity in Democracy' programme to reduce barriers to BAME people becoming local councillors and properly resource future programmes to achieve equality of outcome of BAME representation on local councils.
53. Call for Section 106 of the Equality Act to be enacted or it's power to be devolved to Wales, and with this, collect and publish ethnicity data related to who stands for, who is nominated and who wins elections at local and national levels.

54. Actively address the structural, racial, cultural, interpersonal and financial barriers to BAME people taking part in the political process by joining parties or standing for elections
55. Within legal frameworks, apply quotas/twinning/ziping processes together with implementing positive action in the selection process for candidates for elected posts so that BAME candidates have a fair opportunity to be put forward. Such practices are already applied to increase gender representation in the Senedd but not applied yet for other under-represented groups
56. Reserve regional places for BAME candidates especially BAME women in order to get a better representation in the Senedd. Such practices are already applied to increase gender representation in the Senedd but not applied yet for other under-represented groups

## Health Inequalities & Covid19

57. Publicly recognise that the disproportionate impact of Covid-19 on BAME people in Wales is due to clear cut socio-economic disparities created and perpetuated by the systemic racism that governs all areas of society we live in today, thus rejecting any discourse of health inequalities being down to genetic makeup/predisposition of an entire race or ethnic group.
58. Continue to work with Public Health Wales and Health Boards to improve data collection on health and ethnicity to inform understanding and prevention of future disproportionate health outcomes for ethnic minorities.
59. Implement without delay the recommendations of the Welsh Government BAME Covid Advisory Group
60. Increase pay of the lowest paid health and social care workers who are disproportionately BAME
61. Monitor the impact of the Covid19 risk assessment tool and any unintended impacts on BAME people
62. Ensure all health and social care staff receive in depth anti-racism training as detailed above to prevent inequalities from persisting from the ground up.
63. Improve support and complaint structures for health and social care staff experiencing racial/ethnic/religious discrimination.
64. Invest in a comprehensive and multi-sectoral approach to address mental health promotion, prevention, treatment, discrimination, exclusion, care and recovery which is culturally sensitive and meets the needs of BAME communities including young people.

## Housing

65. Implement the recommendations of Tai Pawb in relation to refugee housing and work with Tai Pawb, local authorities, registered social landlords and refugee organisations to ensure there is adequate move-on, supported housing provision for refugees and destitute asylum seekers in each dispersal area.
66. Mandate Local Authorities to review their and relevant housing authority allocation policies with the aim of reducing overcrowding, including higher points awards being given to applicants in overcrowded accommodation so that re-housing is swifter.
67. Include specific section on the housing needs of BAME communities in Local Housing Market Assessments so that housing developed in the forthcoming period of Welsh Government reflects the larger house sizes needed for some BAME communities.
68. Increase the volume of affordable and social housing built.
69. Commission research to look at affordability concerns specific to BAME communities and large families in overcrowded housing and put in measures to address these, including influencing UK government to abolish Benefit Cap which is impacting on some BAME communities disproportionately due to large family sizes.

## Endorsed by (to date):

### ORGANISATIONS

- Action for Children – Siobhan Corria
- African Community Centre - Jill Duarte
- Aurora Trinity Collective – Helen Clifford
- British Association of Social Workers Wales (BASW) – Alison Hulmes
- BeDiverse Training – Leila Usmani
- Citizens Advice Swansea/NPT – Pat Dunmore
- Chwarae Teg
- Diverse Cymru – Suzanne Duval
- Ethnic Minorities and Youth Support Team (EYST) - Rocio Cifuentes
- EYST - Ginger Wiegand
- Food Adventure Ltd - Carol Adams
- FW Consultancy - Faith Walker
- Hindu Cohesion Mandal – Kalpana Natarajan
- Iberian and Latin American Association in Wales - Patricia Rodrigues
- Muslim Engagement and Development (MEND) - Sahar Al-Faifi
- MEND – Umar Qazi
- National training Federation Wales – Humie Webbe
- ProMo Cymru – Marco Gil-Cervantes
- Show Racism the Red Card - Noam Devey
- Swansea Music Art Digital – Stuart Sumner-Smith
- Tai Pawb – Alicja Zalesinska
- The Mentor Ring – Sujatha Thaladi
- Theatre Genedlaethol Cymru
- Victim Support - Nirushan Sudarsan
- Women Connect First - Maria Mesa

### INDIVIDUALS

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- Jami Abramson, RAW
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- Joshua Robertson, Individual
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- Maria Mesa, Women Connect First
- Nirushan Sudarsan, Victim Support
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